

Congress Indulges In Palpable Falsehood

In the two issues, one dated August 1 and the other dated September 1 last, we showed with concrete instances how shamelessly the present ruling Congress Ministry in West Bengal has been indulging in deliberate falsehood to blacken and discredit the former U F governments in the state for befooling the people. In this article also we shall expose some more blatant lies told by the Finance Minister of West Bengal. As on earlier occasions here also we shall depend on official figures to do it.

Mr. Sankar Ghose, Finance Minister of West Bengal, in his budget statement of March 25 last observed: "The CPI (M)-dominated U F Governments which administered this State twice did not solve the pressing problems of West Bengal but created new problems including those of law and order. During that time morning newspapers vividly brought home to everybody the fact that there was no security for citizens in any walk of life, people were murdered indiscriminately irrespective of the fact whether he was a High Court Judge, a Vice-Chancellor, a constable or a common man." The U F governments administered West Bengal in two terms altogether for about twenty-two months, first time for about nine months from March to November, 1967 and thereafter for about thirteen months from March, 1969 to March, 1970. Every politically honest person admits that the periods were too short for the U F governments to solve the pressing problems of a problem state like West Bengal. Besides, under existing capitalist order it is impossible to solve basic problems of the people. Nevertheless, we never claimed that the U F governments had done what they could do and should have done, notwithstanding the extreme shortness of the periods of their administration. We, on the contrary, have all along been saying that had not the CPI (M) obsessed by the infatuation of **any how** expanding the influence of the party utilized the administration and the police for sectarian petty party interests, indulged

in big party chauvinism, given shelter to anti-social elements, carried on slanderous campaigns of hate against other constituent parties of the U F, violently attacked and even murdered workers and supporters of such constituent parties (all these were done in the name of "intensification of class struggle" and necessity of developing a "class-based front" on the plea that the role of the U F has exhausted) and by these unprincipled acts completely destroyed the unity of the U F, ultimately leading to the fall of the second U F government then there is no doubt that the U F government could introduce such reforms as can be made even within the limited scope of present-day capitalist order in the country and the Constitution of India, in order to expand democratic rights of the people, give a fillip to legitimate democratic mass movements and provide some amount of relief to the down-trodden millions of West Bengal who looked with earnest expectation for such reforms. Disruption of the unity of the U F and consequent fall of the second U F government mainly due to left-opportunist and disruptive politics of the CPI (M) caused tremendous frustration among common men of West Bengal advantages of which had been fully exploited by the ruling Congress in the state. Any party that seriously wants to overcome its mistakes and move correctly cannot but admit the mistakes committed by it in connection with the functioning of the U F. But it is a pity that in the entire proceedings of the ninth congress of the CPI (M)

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recently concluded there is no trace of self-criticism in so far as the party's role in disrupting the U F in West Bengal is concerned; rather, there is a deliberate attempt on the part of the leadership to whitewash and even deny the gross mistakes committed by the party in its approach to and functioning inside the U F and the U F government in West Bengal. But that is a different issue outside the scope of discussion of the present article.

We, as already stated, accept the failings of the U.F. and the U F governments in West Bengal to the extent mentioned above. But what the Finance Minister of West Bengal had observed in his budget statement which we have quoted hereinbefore is something malafide and politically motivated. His first charge against the U F governments is that during the time of U F administration "there was no security for citizens in any walk of life, people were murdered indiscriminately". Let us see what picture official figures present. In reply to unstarred question No. 59 (admitted question No. 107) the Home Minister of West Bengal on July 21 last informed the Legislative Assembly that numbers of murders committed in the state in 1967 were 641; in 1968, 631; in 1969, 708; in 1970, 1141; in 1971, 2213 and during the first five months of 1972, 382. The last figure is incorrect. For, the Union Minister of State for Home

in reply to a Rajya Sabha question on August 4 last stated that the number of murders committed in West Bengal during the first five months of 1972 was 956 and not 382 as given by the State Home Minister.

From these official figures we find that during the time of U F administration in West Bengal the highest number of murders committed in a year was 708 in 1969. What were the figures of murders committed in other states in that year? In Uttar Pradesh the number was 3147; in Madhya Pradesh it was 1739; in Maharashtra it was 1319; in Bihar the figure was 1291; in Gujarat it was 862; in Tamil Nadu the number was 814 and in Mysore it was 731. These figures are supplied by the Union Government. Thus in all these states the numbers of murders committed far exceed that in West Bengal in 1969. In the background of these figures is it not a travesty of truth to observe that because of people being murdered indiscriminately, there was no security for citizens in any walk of life in West Bengal? If this accusation by West Bengal's Finance Minister is assumed as true then one cannot but conclude that there was less security for the people of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Bihar, Gujarat, Tamil Nadu and Mysore under the administration of the ruling Congress, Syndicate Congress or the
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CPI AND CPI(M) HELPED CONGRESS IN CREATING

The National Council of the CPI met at New Delhi on and from 24th to 28th August last and adopted several resolutions. In the resolution on **prices, monopoly and government policies** the party expressed the view that "Measures of nationalisation and take-overs, instead of being used as weapons to demolish the power of monopoly capital, are more and more being utilised only as a means of repairing and streamlining capitalism which had found itself in deep crisis."

From the above-mentioned observation it is clear that the CPI expected that the nationalised and state-owned industries would be used to curb and ultimately demolish the power of monopoly capital. But who will do it? The government which, even according to the CPI, is in unholy collusion with the big monopolies, the bankers and the bureaucrats? If the CPI expected that nationalised and state-owned industries under the existing capitalist rule in our country would be used to demolish the power of monopoly capital then the expectation itself was unscientific and wild. Only bourgeois apologists propagate such illusions to confuse the people.

As far back as October, 1969, the Central Committee of the SUCI under the leadership of its General Secretary, Com. Shibdas Ghosh, one of the outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinkers of the day, in the resolution on bank nationalisation in our country came out with the declaration that "...it is one thing to support the demand for nationalisation of banks and other key industries by the toiling millions of our country engaged in fierce revolutionary struggle for emancipation from the yoke of capitalist exploitation while it is quite a different thing to hail an act of the bourgeoisie nationalising them. For, *in a capitalist state when the bourgeoisie nationalises any industry, it does so in the aggregate interests of capitalism precisely to bring about a coalescence of monopolies with the state and thereby*

virtually subjugating the state to the interests of the monopolists. In this way the rock bottom foundation stone of fascism is laid. So, it cannot be the business of any progressive party or individual, not to speak of the revolutionaries, to extend support to or praise the act of bank nationalisation by the ruling Indian bourgeoisie. On the contrary, it is high time that a note of caution should be sounded to the working class and other sections of the toiling masses that if they fail to step up their revolutionary struggle, overthrow the bourgeoisie and capture state power then the nationalised industries will continue to be a constant source of more ruthless exploitation. The workers and other exploited masses of the people of our country should, therefore, close up their ranks and be more vigilant against the possible counter-revolutionary offensives by the Indian bourgeoisie under various cloaks of so-called radical Social-Democratic measures."

Lenin advised the working class not to be satisfied with charlatan phrases, so-called radical slogans or tall promises of the bourgeoisie but "to get down to *class reality*." The analysis of the bank nationalisation measure by the government in our country, as made by the Central Committee of the SUCI which has been quoted in the foregoing paragraph, explains the *class reality* of the government measure nationalising fourteen major Indian banks in our country. Facts have corroborated the correctness of this analysis.

The admission by the National Council of the CPI that "measures of nationalisation and take-overs, instead of being used as weapons to demolish the power of monopoly capital, are more and more being utilised only as a means of repairing and streamlining capitalism" is a further vindication of the absolutely correct stand of the SUCI in this regard.

But neither the CPI nor the CPI (M) ever cared to get down to *class reality* on the question of bank nationalisation as in so many other issues. For bank nationalisation the CPI in petty-bourgeois philistine manner eulogised Mrs. Indira Gandhi for her "bold stand," characterised her Congress and her government as progressive, explained the power-conflict between the Syndicate Congress and the Indira Congress as a struggle between the monopolists collaborating with imperialism and "progressive national bourgeoisie" (CPI's term), in general terms, between reaction and progress, urged upon the masses of the Indian people to rally round Mrs. Indira Gandhi and strengthen her hands and expressed the hope that the government headed by Mrs. Gandhi by measures of nationalisation and state-ownership of industries would demolish the power of monopoly capital, thereby completely renouncing class position and practising tailism of the ruling Congress.

The role of the CPI(M) which scoffs at the CPI as "revisionists" tied to the apron-string of the ruling Congress was no better. The stand of the CPI(M) was basically the same as that of the CPI. The CPI(M) also did not care to get down to *class reality*. The party praised bank nationalisation by the ruling Congress government as a "big event", "a step in the right direction", "something good", a "forward

measure" setting "in motion" "the process of mass radicalisation and the new mass polarisation" and a "measure in tune with the anti-monopoly democratic aspirations of the people." The CPI (M) also, like the CPI, visualised that even under the existing capitalist order nationalised banks could "truly become a tool for fighting monopoly interests." If anyone has any doubt, he may consult **People's Democracy**, organ of the CPI(M), (issues dated 3rd, 17th and 31st August and 9th November, 1969 and 15th February, 1970) to satisfy himself as to the correctness of what we have stated just now. We fail to understand how in the face of these facts Mr. Promode Das Gupta, CPI(M) leader, could tell the workers and supporters of the party assembled in a public meeting that "it was only the CPI(M) which had given the warning that measures like bank nationalization and abolition of privy purse were a bluff." (**Statesman** dated 8th November, 1971) Do not the CPI(M) ranks read even their own party literature? Or they dare not open their lips before their party leaders? Otherwise, how could such a false statement by Mr. Das Gupta go uncontradicted by the ranks of the party?

In the political resolution adopted by the recently concluded ninth congress of the CPI(M) we find the following; "The nationalisation of banks in the main was intended to centralise the banking resources in the hands of the Government in the interest of the capitalist class as a whole, without at the same time injuring the interests of the monopolists." If it is so then how could the CPI(M) hail bank nationalisation as a "big event", a "step in the right direction", "something good", a "forward measure" setting "in motion the process of mass radicalisation and the new mass polarisation" and a "measure in tune with the anti-monopoly democratic

ILLUSION ABOUT CONGRESS AMONG PEOPLE

aspirations of the people"? Had the CPI(M) really thought that nationalisation of banks was done in the interest of the capitalist class as a whole then it not only would not have hailed bank nationalisation so enthusiastically but, on the contrary, should have declared that nationalisation of banks was done in the interest of the capitalist class as a whole. We do not find anything of the sort in any literature of the CPI(M) except the political resolution adopted by the ninth congress. This very fact establishes beyond any shade of doubt that the latest formulation on bank nationalisation, as contained in the political resolution adopted by the ninth congress, is an after-thought surreptitiously incorporated in party literature without admitting in the congress that the earlier formulations hailing bank nationalisation were gross mistakes virtually amounting to renunciation of class position. It is strange that no delegate to the congress questioned the propriety of such surreptitious incorporation by the leadership of the party; nor any body asked the real cause of renunciation of class position. In passing, it may be pointed out that the latest formulation on bank nationalisation by the CPI(M) bears marks of clumsy plagiarism of what the Central Committee of our Party had observed on bank nationalisation about three years back and which has been quoted hereinbefore.

The similarity between the CPI and the CPI(M) in their approach to bank nationalisation was not accidental. It flowed from their basically identical assessment of the character of the Indira wing of the Congress. In spite of their bitterness against Indira Government outwardly shown, their revolutionary phrasemongering and lip service to class struggle and unceasing denigration of the CPI for the latter's pro-Congress line, the CPI(M) also characterised the

ruling Congress as progressive. This is glaringly proved by the resolution of the Central Committee of the CPI(M) which *inter alia* observed; "...the Indira Gandhi wing also contains within its fold a healthy trend which hates big landlords and monopolists. Despite the support its leaders seek and receive from the monopolists and Indian reactionaries, it has raised certain slogans and taken certain measures which are in tune with the anti-monopoly democratic aspirations of the people." (Vide **People's Democracy** dated 15th February, 1970) But it is strange that even in the face of this documentary evidence the CPI (M) in the political resolution adopted in the ninth congress had observed: "While fighting the machinations of the Central Government and the Congress, our Party was fully aware of the meaning of the Congress split and was the *only party* in the Left that took a correct class attitude towards both the wings of the Congress. The famous revisionist reasoning that Indira Gandhi represented the anti-monopolist progressive section of the bourgeoisie was rejected by us." Is it not pure and simple lying? What sort of conduct is it to suppress truth and dish out falsehood to the ranks of the party? Be that as it may, we have presently shown that the CPI (M) also, like the CPI, had seen healthy anti-monopoly democratic trends within the Indira wing of the Congress. Is it not giving a certificate of progressiveness to the ruling Congress? Where then was the difference of the CPI(M) with the CPI in so far as assessment of the character of the Indira wing of the Congress was concerned? There was no difference except that the CPI makes no bones to admit in public that the Congress led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi and the government

run by her are progressive whereas the CPI(M) under cover of different words and phrases expressed the same view.

While the CPI and the CPI (M) were thus sailing on the same boat continuing to invent "progressiveness" (in the words of the CPI) or "a healthy trend which hates big landlords and monopolists" (in the CPI(M)'s parlance), as the case may be, in the ruling Congress, our Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism correctly assessed the nature of contradiction between the Indira wing of the Congress and the Syndicate and their class character. According to us, both the Syndicate Congress and the Indira Congress are bourgeois parties wedded to the task of safeguarding bourgeois interests in our country, the only difference between them being that while the Syndicate Congress represents individual interests of the Indian monopolists, the Indira Congress represents the aggregate interests of Indian monopoly capitalism. The conflict between them, therefore, is nothing but a reflection of the contradiction between the conservative section of the Indian bourgeoisie representing individual interests of the monopolists and the so-called radical section of the Indian bourgeoisie representing aggregate interests of Indian monopoly capitalism. In our considered view, the Indira Congress with its so-called radical Social-Democratic programme has in it greater potential danger of fascism, compared to the Syndicate Congress. In the prevailing situation, it is the main enemy of the people of our country. Three years back our party expressed these views.

Facts have established every bit of this analysis of ours as true. Monopolists are having a good day under the benign rule of the ruling Congress party led by Mrs.

Indira Gandhi. During a period of only three years from 1966-67 to 1969-70, the Tatas increased their assets by 26.3 per cent, the Birlas by 35.1 per cent, Martin Burn by 15 per cent, the Bangurs by 34.1 per cent, the Thapars by 17.3 per cent, the Mafatlals by 68.3 per cent, the Walchands by 24 per cent, the Srirams by 45.6 per cent, so on and so forth. As against this prosperity of the tycoons, appalling poverty of our people—more than 40 per cent of the Indian people live below starvation level (in West Bengal more than 70 per cent of the people live below starvation level)—tells its own tale. Continuous erosion of democratic rights of the people, coupled with forcible suppression of all opposition views and organisations, violent attacks on political opponents with the backing of the administration and the police by armed Congress hoodlums, which can be seen in West Bengal, is indicative of growing menace of administrative fascism. The situation has become so bad that even the CPI well-known for their loyalty to the Congress cannot but accuse the ruling Congress government leadership guilty of unholy collusion with big monopolists, the bankers and the bureaucrats to smother democracy and serve monopoly interests.

It cannot be denied that the ruling Congress under radial cloak of tall promises and demagoguery has succeeded in creating confusion among a section of the people who considers the ruling Congress as progressive, of course wrongly, and harbours illusions about it. It is an undeniable fact that the CPI and the CPI (M) by their assessment of the ruling Congress as progressive have helped the ruling Congress in creating these illusions among the people. In a spirit of self-criticism the CPI and the CPI (M) should

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SOVIET UAR RELATION

President Anwar Sadat of Egypt dramatically ordered the removal of nearly 20,000 Soviet military experts, stationed in Egypt. In his statement President Sadat complained that the Soviet Union was not delivering the necessary offensive weapons with which the occupied territory of Egypt might be recovered from the Israeli aggressors and this, according to him, was the main reason for his withdrawal order of the Soviet military experts. The Soviet Union has, however, refuted this charge of President Sadat. As such a proper analysis of the Soviet stand in the Middle East and also of the reasons that prompted President Sadat to take recourse to this dramatic action need to be properly made.

Since her defeat in 1967 war, Egypt was receiving massive military help from the Soviet Union. Even before 1967 war the Soviet Union was providing help to Egypt, but it was only after her defeat the then President Nasser urgently asked for massive Soviet help. It is from that the Soviet Union also responded to Egyptian request for military help and had been providing massive arms aid to Egypt. But President Sadat charged that the latest sophisticated weapons were not included in the list of arms aid. In spite of the Soviet denial to the charge of President Sadat, it can be said with certainty from a study of the Soviet attitude that the latest sophisticated weapons were not delivered to Egypt. It was seen in Vietnam war that the Soviet Union was taking all possible measures to avoid open confrontation with the U.S. imperialists. In spite of naked aggression on Vietnam by the U.S. imperialist and the open piracy and flagrant violation of all canons of international law by the U.S. Seventh Fleet, the Soviet Union did not provide the latest sophisticated weapons to destroy the U.S. Seventh Fleet to the brotherly socialist state of North Vietnam and this was due to the Soviet attitude to avoid open confrontation with the U.S.A. The recent trip of President Nixon to Moscow and the subsequent detente between Moscow and Washington and the agreement reached in the use of the strategic arms, further

demonstrated that the Soviet Union was pursuing a policy of avoiding any confrontation with the U.S.A. As such it would be appropriate to presume that the Soviet Union did not want to be involved in any confrontation with the U.S.A. in the Middle East. The Soviet Union knew it quite well that any adventure by Egypt with the sophisticated weapons of the Soviet Union against Israel would surely involve Soviet Union and the open confrontation with the U.S.A. in the Middle East could not be avoided. These considerations must have prompted the Soviet Union to take measures so that the armed conflict in the Middle East did not break out. So in spite of Soviet denial, the charge of President Sadat regarding the delivery of sophisticated weapons cannot be discarded as entirely baseless.

But President Sadat's other part of the statement that Egypt could not recover the occupied territory from Israel due to the non-delivery of the Soviet sophisticated weapon is not correct. It is seen from the activities of President Sadat that he is not in any mood to wage war against Israel for recovery of the lost territory. On the other hand he believed that since the U.S.A. had considerable influence over Israel, the lost territory could be recovered through negotiation and manoeuvre with the U.S.A. President Sadat asked withdrawal of Soviet troops previously also. But it was seen that such demand was followed by negotiation with the U.S.A.

Subsequently President Sadat, however, reversed his decision regarding the withdrawal of Soviet advisers. Again this time also after his demand for the withdrawal of the Soviet military advisers for the second time, negotiations with the U.S. administration continued. These manoeuvres of President Sadat clearly showed that he was attempting to recover the occupied territory through negotiations with the U.S.A. rather than with direct war with Israel.

So it is seen that President Sadat had no intention of getting involved in any military adventure with Israel and there was also no scope on the part of President Sadat for any misconception about the Soviet policy in the Middle East. President Sadat knew it quite well that the Soviet Union would not face confrontation with the U.S.A. in the Middle East because of Egypt. As such, President Sadat's present charge against the Soviet Union about the non-delivery of sophisticated weapons clearly had been prompted by other political considerations. As a matter of fact President Sadat blackmailed Soviet Union for consolidating his own internal position on the one hand and also for proving his bonafide to the U.S.A. to win over its favour for recovery of the lost territory through negotiations. After the disaster of 1967 war, the people of Egypt had been promised that the occupied territory of Egypt would be recovered through war. Apparently with this aim in view the Soviet military help was sought. The Egyptian leaders sought time for repairing the military machine crushed by Israel in 1967 war. But as was shown above President Sadat had no intention of military adventure and as such whenever the people demanded military action, President Sadat pacified them with the false promise of military action with Soviet help for recovery of lost territory. This policy

that was pursued so long landed President Sadat into difficulty. The people got impatient and asked why no action was taken against Israel in spite of the Soviet help. Internal turmoil was thus brewing and this was causing considerable concern to President Sadat. Moreover, the rightist sections were accusing President Sadat of the sell-out of the cause of the country to the communist Russia. So this blackmailing of the Soviet Union, served President Sadat well in consolidating his internal position. He blunted the criticism of those who demanded military action with the Soviet help and the criticism of the rightist sections were blunted by his order of withdrawal of the Soviet military experts. The Soviet Union also instead of giving exposure to such blackmailing issued mild protest and very mildly denied the Egyptian charge.

But President Sadat knew it quite well that if he snapped all ties with the Soviet Union, Egypt would have no other alternative but to obey the dictates of the U.S.A. and the dispute with Israel would be settled at the terms of Israel. As such even after such blackmailing with the Soviet military experts, President Sadat took extreme care to keep open the door of friendship with the Soviet Union. This is amply demonstrated by his subsequent Press statements. In an interview in Cairo on 16th August last, President Sadat said that indications so far were that the Soviet Union was convinced of the fact that the Egyptian stand was actually that of a friend who did not bargain or manoeuvre. According to him the aim was to put Egyptian Soviet friendship back to normal and establish it on the strongest of foundation in the new phase. Such overtures to the Soviet Union and the simultaneous negotiations with the US administration, clearly show that President Sadat wants to hobnob with the Soviet

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Union to get bargaining leverage over the USA.

It is clear that the Soviet Union has become a victim of blackmailing in an unalert state. This has become possible due to lack of proper understanding on the part of the Soviet Union, regarding the role of resurgent nationalist countries. The Soviet Union has taken a lopsided view of the anti-imperialist role of these countries, but has failed to understand the motive that is prompting the countries to play the anti-imperialist role. These newly independent resurgent nationalist countries are essentially trying to build up powerful capitalist economy within their respective countries, but the imperialist powers are standing as a great stumbling block to the realization of this aspiration. These resurgent nationalist countries are attempting to come out of imperialist subjugation through building up of national capitalist economy. The anti-imperialist role of these countries is due to this contradiction existing between the imperialist countries and the resurgent nationalist countries. These countries seek the help of the socialist countries so that they may come out of the clutches of the imperialist powers. But since these countries are themselves, building up capitalist economy within their countries they can not totally depend on the socialist countries because of the fear of working class revolution within these countries and the progressive and revolutionary movements within these countries are mercilessly suppressed. Com. Shibdas Ghosh, the leader and teacher of our Party and one of the renowned Marxist thinker of the day warned against such lopsided approach towards the anti-imperialist role of the resurgent nationalist countries and said as far back as 1959 that "only the

anti-imperialist and anti-war acts and policies of the ruling bourgeoisie of these countries that are objectively helping to maintain world peace are being eulogised and ostensibly displayed and highly commended while no notice is being taken of (1) the fundamental difference between the consistent peaceful policy of the socialist states and the undependable policy of peace pursued by the newly independent capitalist countries (2) the increasing tendency of fascism and appearance of fascistic characteristics in diverse forms in the state structure and administrative set up of these countries, (3) the developing trend of imperialism and expansionism which in the case of some of these countries is assuming naked form at times and above all, (4) of the fact that these newly independent capitalist countries are going to play, more and more, the main role as agents of world imperialism capitalism in Asia and Africa in the matter of forcible suppression of the growth and development of socialist revolutionary struggles. And there is no attempt on the part of so-called communist parties whatsoever to educate the peoples by conducting relentless ideological struggles on these points." (War and peace, Peaceful Co-existence and Peaceful Transition to Socialism).

If the anti-Western imperialist role of Egypt is considered in the perspective of the above analysis, such volta-face like dramatic withdrawal order of the Soviet military experts would not be astonishing. As a matter of fact the initial anti-imperialist fervour reflected by President Nasser has been considerably lacking during the present regime. If the internal situation in Egypt is observed it will be seen that Egypt is drifting to the rightist direction. President

Sadat returned most of the sequestered land to the big landlords and took recourse to drastic measures for crushing all the democratic and progressive movement within the country. All the key men of the communal organisation which was preaching Muslim brotherhood were arrested by President Nasser after their conspiracy against him was unearthed; but President Sadat released all of them. Moreover, Egypt is moving close to Libya and Syria and the political union of Egypt and Libya whose leadership is in the hand of a fanatic section, preaching Muslim brotherhood, has been formed. Such political union between Egypt, Syria and Libya has been prompted by the desire on the part of the rulers of the countries to help one another in crushing democratic and progressive movements within these countries. These countries even intervene in a third country for forceful and brutal suppression of progressive and democratic movements within that country. The case of Sudan is a glaring example.

The popular uprising against the autocratic rule in Sudan was crushed by Egypt with the active support of Libya. Thus it is seen that President Sadat is playing an extremely reactionary role and crushing the democratic and progressive movement both within and outside the country. The present behaviour of Egypt is not at all surprising and conforms exactly to the brilliant analysis of Com. Shibdas Ghose, quoted above.

No one can deny that for containing imperialism, ensuring world peace and strengthening revolutionary movements in colonies, semi-colonies, newly independent countries and metropolitan capitalist countries, the anti-imperialist role of the newly independent resurgent

nationalist countries must be taken advantage of by the socialist countries. All sorts of help need to be provided by the socialist countries to these resurgent nationalist countries for protection against imperialist intervention so that these countries can develop their economy and thereby the contradiction within the imperialist camp which is already acute owing to the crisis of market, may be further sharpened.

But we are observing that despite massive military aid by the Soviet Union, the anti-Western imperialist role of resurgent nationalist bourgeoisie of Egypt could not be fully utilised owing to the Soviet policy of non-confrontation with the U.S.A. which has curbed the flow of decisive weapons, that can effectively counteract the U.S. war motives in the Middle East. But pursuing such a policy of detente with the U.S.A. the Soviet Union despite rendering massive military assistance virtually muted the anti-Western imperialist nationalist fervour of the Egyptian bourgeoisie. Moreover, in giving this aid such lopsided approach like eulogising only the anti-Western imperialist role without giving any exposure to the real character of the ruling class of these resurgent nationalist countries has done more harm than good by creating confusion in the mind of not only common people but also of the ranks of communist parties even in these countries. It is however, undeniable that the communist party of the soil must take the responsibility of exposing the real character of resurgent nationalism. Simultaneously the socialist countries, also providing aid to these resurgent nationalist countries to handle the contradiction within the imperialist camp, must give constant exposure

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CONGRESS POLITICS DIVORCED FROM ETHICS

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DMK, as the case may be, compared to the security enjoyed by the people of West Bengal during the U F regime. Is Mr. Sankar Ghose ready to accept this position? It is because of such irresponsible and false utterances by ruling Congress leaders and ministers that to the people of other states of India West Bengal still appears as a paradise for criminals, a picture of West Bengal which vested interests and enemies of the state want to project to the outside world for obvious reasons. No word is strong enough to condemn the utterly false statement by the present Finance Minister of West Bengal.

We need not cite the instances of other states. How does West Bengal itself stand under Congress rule? In 1970, when the state was under President's rule which is rule by the Central Government which at the material time was a ruling Congress government the number of murders committed in West Bengal rose to 1141 as against 708 the all-time highest during the U F administration. In 1971, when West Bengal was administered for three months by the Democratic Coalition Government which was a *de facto* Congress government and for the rest nine months by the Central Government under President's rule there were 2213 murders committed, a figure more than three times as high as the all-time highest figure during the U F regime. During the first five months of the current year the number of murders committed was 956 (Union Minister of State for Home had given this figure) which far exceeds the all-time highest figure of murders committed in the whole of the year 1969 when the U F government was administering the state. Thus, if it is alleged, as done by the present Finance Minister of West Bengal, that people being indiscriminately murdered,

"there was no security for citizens in any walk of life" during the period of administration of the state by the U F governments then the citizens enjoyed less security under President's rule which was a rule by the Central Government headed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, under the rule of the Democratic Coalition Government which was also a *de facto* ruling Congress Government and under the rule of the present Congress Government compared to what they enjoyed at the time when the U F governments administered West Bengal. Official figures establish this truth.

This is also an objective reality. Now not only political opponents of the ruling Congress and workers and supporters of mass organisations led by left-democratic parties are being violently attacked and murdered and intra-party violent clashes between different rival groups within the Congress itself leading very often to murders are taking place but also common men are being severely assaulted and murdered, money is being extorted from them and even women are being molested and raped by Congress hoodlums. The administration and the police have become the avowed and blatant tool in the hands of the ruling Congress party and its Government in the state to serve sectarian petty party interests and strengthen the autocratic rule of the Congress to the negation of all democratic principles and norms of behaviour.

The situation has come to such a pass that newspapers owned even by the Commerce and Industry Minister of West Bengal had to come out with gruesome reports of mass raping on girls. On July 28 last, **A m r i t a Bazar Patrika** on its front page reported: "A young girl aged about 17 years was kidnapped from the Mrinalini cinema house at

Dum Dum area by seven young men of the locality who all in a row raped her in a nearby secluded place." **People's Democracy** reported that these young men belonged to the Youth Congress, one of them being the Assistant Secretary of the Chhatra Parishad. **Jugantar** on July 29 last reported: "Last Sunday night some young men forcibly took away a young girl from the platform of Khardah railway station and raped her." These are not solitary incidents. Reports of such heinous crimes are coming out almost daily in newspapers.

There are other types of crimes also. During the years 1970 and 1971 when the state was under Congress administration 1271 and 1486 dacoities respectively took place. The corresponding figures for robbery were 947 and 1268, for burglary 9979 and 9737, for theft 29,765 and 33,353 and for rioting 16,337 and 9369. These figures have been supplied by the present Home Minister of West Bengal to the Legislative Assembly. These figures speak for themselves about Congress rule in the state.

The second charge by the Finance Minister of West Bengal against the U F governments (this is in fact no separate charge; it is part of the first charge levelled by the Minister presumably to give his allegation against the U F governments a factual colour) is that a Vice-Chancellor and a High Court judge were murdered during the period when the U F governments administered the state. This is a blatant lie. For, Mr. Gopal Sen, Vice-Chancellor of the Jadavpur University, was murdered on December 30, 1970 when West Bengal was under President's rule, i.e., under the rule of the Central Government headed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Mr. K.L. Roy, judge of the

Calcutta High Court, was assaulted on April 6, 1971 as a result of which he expired on the next day. At that time West Bengal was being administered by the Democratic Coalition Government which was a *de facto* Congress government. So, it was not during the U F regime but during Congress administration that a Vice-chancellor and a High Court judge were murdered in West Bengal. Nevertheless, the Finance Minister of West Bengal brazen-facedly tells a lie attributing responsibility of the murders of the Vice-Chancellor and the High Court judge to the U F governments. What sort of public conduct is it? What can the people expect from ministers who do not hesitate to tell a lie? Is it not foolish to give credence to promises and statements made by such ministers? With ministers stooping so low is it any wonder that corruption and moral depravity have become rampant in society? It should be borne in mind that politics divorced from ethics are the worst profession of scoundrels. And scoundrels have no limit to lying.

Under Congress rule truth has become the first casualty. Fascists of all shades have shown the greatest aversion to truth. For, the searching light of truth explodes all the myths which the fascists assiduously build up by demagoguery and false tall promises to bamboozle people to further fascistic interests. The ruling Congress also, true to its class character, has adopted the fascistic path of demagoguery and falsehood to keep our people in the dark about the true state of affairs, the real cause of their unbearable sufferings. It is high time, therefore, that our people should free themselves from illusions which they may harbour about

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Workmen of CCWO on Way to Strike

Calcutta, August 30—On behalf of the Hindusthan Coal Washeries Employees Union, Bhojudih, KIMP Union, Dugda and Patherdih Coal Washery, HSL CCW Employees' Union, Saraidhella and HSL CCWO (PB) Employees' Union, a Press conference was held here today. These unions representing the workmen of Central Coal Washeries Organisation have decided to go on for an indefinite strike from a very early date.

The demands, among others, are (i) withdrawal of bonus cases from the Supreme Court and implementation of Tribunal's awards, (ii) payment of additional ad-hoc 4.33% bonus to the workmen of CCWO for the year 1970-'71 as paid by HSL to other units, (iii) upgrading all members of staff working for five years or more in the same post, (iv) abolition of contract labour system and

absorption of contractors' men as direct employees of CCWO and (v) withdrawal of dismissal orders and reinstatement of Sri S.S. Thakur, Asstt. Secretary Hindusthan Steel Coal Washeries Employees Union, Bhojudih, and Sri S. P. Chawbey.

The unions requested repeatedly Chief Labour Commissioner, New Delhi, for an immediate conciliation of the industrial dispute. Strangely enough, though the management agreed this just request was not accepted by the Government. On 26th August last, the representatives of the unions met the Chairman of the HSL but the management did not show any inclination to settle the industrial dispute peacefully through negotiations. In the circumstances, the workmen of CCWO have no other alternative than to go on strike to have their demands accepted by the company.

All India Steel Workers' Co-ordination Committee Meets

Durgapur—The General Body of the All India Steel Workers Co-ordination Committee met here by the middle of August last. The meeting was attended by representatives of workers of Durgapur Steel Plant and Rourkela Steel Plant under the HSL, Tata Iron and Steel Co. Ltd. and Indian Iron and Steel Co. Ltd. Representatives from Bhilai Steel Plant under the HSL and Bokharo Steel Plant could not attend due to unavoidable reasons.

The meeting adopted several organisational measures to further strengthen the All India Steel Workers' Co-ordination Committee and decided to explore all possibilities for developing joint movements of steel workers throughout the country in co-operation with other organisations of steel workers on common agreed

issues, like upward revision of pay scales, increase in number of days of different types of leave and festival holidays, enhancement of quantum of bonus, payment of conveyance allowance to all or arrangement for conveyance, quarters for all or house rent allowance where quarters cannot be provided, abolition of contract labour system and absorption of existing workers under contractors as direct employees etc.

Assessment about Congress

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admit it. But we do not find any sign of that. The ranks of these parties should ponder if these parties which conceal their mistakes from the ranks can lead the people to power and whether by supporting these parties they are damaging the cause of the Indian revolution or not. History demands such a pondering.

By The Way

In the *Calcutta Note Book* under sub-heading *nursery corner* the **Hindusthan Standard** (August 7 last) commented: "As a follow-up of the drive to clean up Calcutta pavements, these stalls were pulled down one day and the nurserywallahs except those entrenched in the area before the hospital disappeared. The pavement remained unoccupied for some time. But all of a sudden...stalls mushroomed again covering the entire stretch of the pavement. Mostly the old vendors have come back, with whose blessings nobody knows, flying the flags of a political party." Every one knows that flying the flags of the ruling Congress, the old vendors have re-occupied the pavement with the blessings of Congress leaders, including some Ministers. Why then did the police pull down the stalls? Well, the reason is quite simple. The nurserywallahs refused to pay any *Selami* to local Congress leaders for unauthorised occupation of the pavement nor did they fly the tri-colour flag of the Congress. So, the administration and the police felt the necessity of cleaning up the pavement. Now that Congress flags are flying and *Selami* is flowing into the pockets of local Congress leaders, penchant of the police to clean up the pavement cannot but be over. You must have by now seen the whole game behind the 'drive' by ruling Congress Government in West Bengal to clean up Calcutta pavements.

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It is reported that out of 7082 toddy shops in Tamil Nadu, 6727 were auctioned upto the third week of July last and they fetched Rs 16.70 crores as against Rs 9.02 crores realised from 7242 shops last year. Inspired by this 'success' of the DMK Government, the ruling Congress Government in Maharashtra has virtually scrapped prohibition by allowing everyone above the age of 21 years to consume alcoholic drinks under the new "liberalised health permit system." The Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh also has said that he is "in favour of relaxing prohibition further for increasing production of beer in the state so that it can be made cheaper." There is no doubt that the country, thanks to the DMK and the ruling Congress, is making rapid spirituous development. This is perhaps Gandhism in action.

* * *

The National Council of the CPI in the resolution on prices, monopoly and government policies *inter alia* states: "Thus the present crisis in three of the basic consumer goods like food, sugar and cloth, the consequent starvation of the people and the rise in prices was due to the *unholy collusion of the big monopolies, the bankers, the bureaucrats and the leadership of the government.*" The leadership of the government which is the same as the leadership of the ruling Congress is in unholy collusion with the big monopolies, the bankers and the bureaucrats to create crisis in at least three basic consumer goods and raise prices! Thou too Brutus! Nevertheless, the Congress leadership is progressive according to the CPI. Wonderful logic indeed!

MAMMOTH MEETING IN CALCUTTA

Calcutta, August 31—A mammoth meeting jointly organised by the CPI (M), RSP, SUC, RCPI, MFB, Workers Party, Biplabi Bangla Congress and Forward Bloc was held today at Sahid Minar maidan to observe the martyrs day. The meeting was presided over by Jyoti Basu.

The meeting unanimously adopted a resolution which was moved by Com. Subodh Banerjee. The meeting in the resolution recalled the glorious food movement by the people of West Bengal in 1959 and paid most respectful homage to the martyrs and innumerable people who were subjected to brutal police oppression for participating in that movement. It also urged upon the units of the left democratic parties, mass organisations and democratically minded people to develop suitable mass movements including protest demonstrations and mass squatting at the offices of BDO's, SDO's and DM's as also to join in a massive demonstration before the Governor on October 4 next to press the demands.

Com. Banerjee in his speech emphasized on the necessity of developing organised mass movements for the restoration of democratic rights of the people. He pointed out the danger of using the administration and the police for sectarian party interests, developing blindness, fanatism

and philosophical intolerance among the ranks of the party and the people, resorting to violent attacks on opponents to expand the influence of the party, forcible gagging of opposition views and practice of falsehood to smear and discredit opposition parties. Through these methods, he contended, fascism would entrench itself in power. Com. Banerjee concluded his speech by reminding the audience that politics divorced from ethics was sheer opportunism, the profession of scoundrels.

Congress Practising Falsehood

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Mrs. Gandhi, her Congress and her governments and form correct ideas about them. This is the first precondition for developing mass movements to restore democratic rights of the people of West Bengal, let alone achieving emancipation from all sorts of exploitation of man by man and attaining real freedom.

UTUC'S APPEAL TO RAILWAYMEN

Com. Pritish Chanda, Secretary of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani), has issued an appeal to the railwaymen of our country to raise their struggle to new pitch to realize their various demands pending for a long time.

In his appeal Com. Chanda has shown how the spiralling prices and consequent erosion of the value of Indian rupee are lowering real wages of railwaymen, their work-load is rising, they are deprived of even minimum bonus under the payment of Bonus Act,

demand for need-based wage is turned down, and they are denied of trade union and political rights under the Congress rule. He has also exposed the hoax of Pay Commissions which had every time recommended in favour of Government against the

Mass Demonstration at Dhanbad

Dhanbad, August 21—On the demand of minimum bonus to be paid to all employed persons at the rate of 8.33 per cent of total annual earnings or Rs. 150 per individual, whichever is higher, lowering the high prices of essential commodities, introduction of all-out state-trading in essential articles, regular distribution of food-stuff in adequate quantities at cheaper rates, abolition of contract labour system in coal fields, absorption of present contractors' men as direct employees, nationalization of all coal mines, free education upto school-leaving stage, arrangement for irrigation and declaring Dhanbad district as a famine-stricken area a big demonstration was held today before the D.C. and the R.L.C., Dhanbad. The demonstration was organised by the Dhanbad District Committee of the S.U.C.I. and the U.T.U.C (Lenin Sarani) Dhanbad unit.

After the demonstration a big meeting was held in front of the D.C.'s court which was addressed by Com. Pritish Chanda, member of the Central Committee of the SUCI and Secretary of the UTUC. In his speech he explained the hollowness of the 'garibi hatao' slogan, the increasing sufferings of the people, the root cause of their sufferings, the real character of the ruling Congress Government

and the necessity of developing mighty mass movements for the realization of the demands.

A delegation consisting of Coms. Hem Chakravarty, Anil Sarkar and R.P. Singh met the A.D.C. and the R.L.C. on behalf of the demonstrators and handed over one copy of memorandum to each of them.

SOVIET UAR RELATION

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to the real character of these countries. It is precisely this task which has not been performed by the Soviet Union and if even now this exposure to the real character of these countries are not given, the case of Egypt might be repeated in many other countries also.

PROTEST AGAINST POLICE FIRING

Cuttack Sept. 4 : A public meeting was held here today under the joint auspices of UTUC (Lenin Sarani), AITUC, CITU and HMS to protest against the unprovoked police firing on peaceful, striking workers of Probhat Iron Foundry and East India Engg. in Rourkela on August 22. Com. Tapash Dutta, leader of the UTUC in his speech strongly criticised the Police firing on unarmed strikers and the arrest of SUC leader Com. B. Jena.